DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 285 391 FL 016 840

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TITLE Evaluating Language Planning: A Procedural Outline.
PUB DATE 28 Dec 86
NOTE 14p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics (New York, NY, December 28, 1986).
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Culture Conflict; Demography; Educational Planning; *Evaluation Criteria; *Evaluation Methods; *Language Attitudes; Language Maintenance; Language of Instruction; *Language Planning; *Language Role; *Policy Formation; Political Influences; Second Language Instruction; Social Attitudes; Sociocultural Patterns

ABSTRACT

A set of procedures for evaluating language planning and policy is proposed. The method, developed to assess language policy implementation in Morocco since independence in 1956, is suggested as a diagnostic device to assist specialists in evaluating previously implemented plans and those in progress. It isolates the linguistic and extralinguistic factors that are potential impediments to successful language planning policy implementation. These include demographic factors (nature and degree of linguistic diversity within the speech community, extent of language competence, and population dynamics); psychological factors (language attitudes and loyalties, cultural attitudes and loyalties, and motivational attitudes); sociocultural factors (the value of language as an ethnocultural symbol, the nature of societal cohesion in the community, and the desire for linguistic or cultural maintenance or assimilation); pedagogical factors (the functional adequacy of the code as a medium of instruction, functional adequacy of staffing and support materials, degree of student and teacher competence in the medium of instruction, and consistency of educational planning goals); and politico-economic factors (the makeup of the political and economic power structure, ideological commitment of the central government to implementing the plan, fiscal constraints and the economic viability of the plan, and conflict between national development and traditional values). An expanded model of language planning evaluation could help transform the existing body of planning theory into a more exact, less anecdotal area of linguistic inquiry. (MSE)

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(Presented at the 9th annual meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics, December 28, 1986, New York)

ED285391

EVALUATING LANGUAGE PLANNING: A PROCEDURAL OUTLINE

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Language planning (LP) specialists typically have directed their attention to LP policy formulation and implementation, and evaluation of the process has been more the exception than the rule. By this, I mean linguists working in this area have been able to delineate LP goals for a particular plan (e.g. choosing a language of wider communication in a linguistically-heterogeneous speech community) or to draw meaningful parallels between LP practice and the principal tenets of the theory of LP (for example, selection of a norm or elaboration of its function), but they have been unable to rely on any set of established, or even ad hoc, guidelines for judging a plan's success or failure. Indeed, Das Gupta and Ferguson (1977:3) noted that "interest in planning keeps growing while the international evaluation of the experience ... indicates a rather dismal record."

The purpose of this paper is to set down a method of LP evaluation, one which isolates those linguistic and extralinguistic factors which act as potential impediments to successful LP policy implementation. This method, which takes the form of an outline, is not a theory of LP but, rather, a diagnostic device designed to assist specialists in evaluating previously

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implemented plans as well as those in progress. It consists of five analytical components or clusters of sociolinguistic factors believed crucial to the entire LP process. The schema incorporates features of planning theory as articulated by Haugen (esp. 1966 and 1969), Fishman (esp. 1973 and 1974), and others, but derives mainly from the work of Spolsky, Green, and Read (1976) on their description and analysis of bilingual education programs. It is argued that the five components of this procedure act as connectives between the goals of LP and the outcomes which are eventually realized. Moreover, it is hoped that this method introduces a measure of rigor to the entire LP evaluative process. The five components, along with their sub-units, follow.

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPONENT. Previous case studies of LP have taken demographic features of the speech community into account but often not in a wholly systematic manner. A simple enumeration of the speakers and languages spoken within the polity is generally insufficient to account for many problems of LP policy implementation. In fact, many other sociolinguistic factors relating to the community's demographic makeup are involved in the process. The demographic component divides into these three smaller categories:

a) nature and degree of linguistic diversity within the speech community;

b) extent of language competence;

c) dynamics of the population.

The first category, nature and degree of linguistic diversity, differentiates monolingual, multilingual, and diglossic situations and accounts for the amount of intelligibility existing among regularly occurring linguistic varieties within the community (that is, the amount of purely structural distance

between various codes). In addition, it considers the degree to which ethnic and social division obtains among speakers. The extent of language competence (category b) measures, among other things, the proportion of the population that functions competently in the various languages spoken within the polity, especially the prestige variety, whose form and function are being modified by LP policies. It also considers the language or languages in which interethnic communication takes place. Dynamics of the population (category c) considers changes in the size, nature, and location of the population and pays particular attention to such questions as: 1) population growth rates among the various language groups; 2) language choice in the families of interethnic and interlingual marriages; and 3) the linguistic significance of movements of the population (generally from rural areas to urban centers.

PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPONENT. This evaluative component focuses on attitudes and loyalties that the individual possesses toward the languages and the sociocultural makeup of his speech community. These attitudes frequently are without any factual basis and may surface as stereotypical responses of the individual to various elements in his sociolinguistic environment. Nevertheless, the simple existence of these attitudes is significant and must be accounted for in LP policy evaluation. The following three categories make up this component:

a) language attitudes and loyalties;

b) cultural attitudes and loyalties;

c) motivational attitudes.

It is difficult to distinguish cleanly between types of attitudes in sociolinguistic studies, because a negative attitude toward a stigmatized language

variety may well be nothing more than a negative predisposition toward the speakers of that particular code. However, such distinctions about various attitudes are useful for LP evaluative purposes. Language attitudes and loyalties (category a) deal with such concerns as aesthetic attributes of the code, pleasantness of sound, beauty of calligraphy, richness and precision of vocabulary, and intrinsic logic of grammatical structure which the users of the language perceive. Cultural attitudes and loyalties (category b) address the speaker's sentiments about his indigenous sociolinguistic environment and how that compares with elements that are foreign or imported. The most frequent attitudinal clash seems to exist between such dichotomous oppositions as "old" versus "new" or "traditional" versus "modern." Motivational attitudes (category c) are concerned with why speakers desire to learn and use new languages, or why they resist learning them. For example, speakers of prestige language varieties likely will want to maintain the linguistic status quo and deny nonprestige forms equal rights, because competence in the prestige form is generally accompanied by elevated social status and, thus, serves as a source of privilege for these speakers.

SOCIOCULTURAL COMPONENT. The third analytical component of this evaluative model examines the relationship between the language and the cultural features of the speech community. The concerns of this component transcend sentiments and attitudes possessed by the individual speaker (that is, those covered in the previous component); rather, they relate to aspects of group loyalty as well as feelings of social division or cohesion and of language's influence on ethnic identity. Three categories are subsumed under this component.

a) value of language as an ethnocultural symbol;

b) nature of societal cohesion in the community;

c) desire for linguistic or cultural maintenance or assimilation;

The value of language as an ethnocultural symbol (category a) is of paramount importance to speakers whose ethnic identity is based largely on language nativity (e.g. speakers of Arabic). Among these groups a plethora of extralinguistic factors (religion, scholarly traditions, literary heritage, folklore customs, and others) are almost inseparable from the language used to express them. The nature of societal cohesion (category b) refers to types of extralinguistic pressures which both affect and effect group identity within speech communities. This sub-component owes its existence to Fishman's useful distinction between "nationalism" (that is, those unifying forces generated by primarily sociocultural factors) and "nationism" (or those pressures for unity which arise out of geopolitical considerations). This distinction is an important one for evaluating LP policies, since ethnic loyalties and national loyalties are not necessarily congruent within the same community. The desire for linguistic or cultural maintenance or assimilation (category c) broaches aspects of sociocultural domination of one ethnic or language group over another within the same polity. LP policies may inadvertently or even intentionally disenfranchise minority speakers from the political, economic, or cultural life of the community. In such a case, would minority speakers accept the edicts of the plan, or would they demand official recognition of their own native language variety?

PEDAGOGICAL COMPONENT. There is perhaps no single sociolinguistic domain over which planning programs can exert greater influence than education, so it is

appropriate that pedagogical issues receive substantial attention in any LP study. The junction of education and LP policies becomes an especially thorny point when decisions regarding the language of instruction are made, because immediate educational advantage or disadvantage for some speakers can result. To deal more precisely with these issues, this evaluative component contains the following categories:

a) functional adequacy of the code as the medium of instruction;

b) functional adequacy of staffing and support materials;

c) degree of students' and teachers' competence in the medium of instruction;

d) consistency of educational planning goals.

It is a given that before a language can serve as the medium of instruction in the modern school system, it must have undergone a thorough measure of standardization, but such procedures alone fall short of guaranteeing the functional adequacy of the code as the medium of instruction (category a). Particularly in the Third World, secondary school and higher education curricula incorporate areas of knowledge to the speech community, and it is mandatory that the code of instruction possess a lexical corpus containing the necessary scientific and technical vocabulary. Perhaps even more important, these terms must be accepted by their users. The functional adequacy of staffing and support materials (category b) accounts for the pedagogical competence of the teaching cadre and the quantity, quality, and appropriateness of available texts and library materials in the planned language of instruction. This point is crucial in LP milieux where educational planners are attempting to replace a foreign teacher corps, often the nucleus of a former colonial school system, with native personnel. Will the new teachers possess the educational

credentials of the old ones, irrespective of the language of instruction? The degree of students' and teachers' competence in the medium of instruction (category c) gauges whether students might suffer linguistic disadvantage in the classroom and determines how effectively teachers use the language of instruction in the classroom. Consistency of educational goals, the last category in the pedagogical component, is perhaps the most difficult area of educational LP to assess, because some policies are designed chiefly with short-term objectives in mind, while others are intended to address long-range problems. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that certain policies can produce consequences inconducive to the carrying out of other policies. To illustrate this, we could imagine a plan which calls for widening educational opportunities in the community while at the same time mandating that the quality of the instructional staff be elevated. Since the second of these goals generally leads to a contraction rather than an expansion of the size of the teacher corps, the first objective -- bringing educational opportunities to a larger proportion of the school-age population -- would likely not be reached.

POLITICO-ECONOMIC COMPONENT. The contributions of the fields of economics and political science comprise the last component of this model of LP evaluation, but it is argued that combining these two disciplines into one analytical unit is appropriate because of the interdependent relationship between political LP considerations and economic ones. Generally speaking, those individuals who enjoy economic power are either leaders of the political establishment or command considerable influence in it. The questions raised by political scientists and economists and the importance of them in sound LP policy making give further evidence to the fact that often the purely linguistic aspects of

LP are secondary to the political climate or to the economic realities one finds in the community. This seems especially true when the LP locale is a Third World country. The following categories make up this last component:

a) makeup of the political and economic power structure;

b) ideological commitment of the central government to implementing the plan;

c) fiscal constraints and economic viability of the plan;

d) conflict between national development and traditional values.

The educational and linguistic backgrounds of those individuals making up the political and economic power structure of the community (category a) can often exert great influence in official language selection and maintenance. Generally, the power elite commands the prestige form, and it is expected that most planning strategies will not disrupt existing social privileges derived from the elite's language competence. Even if speakers of other language varieties might benefit politically or economically from the implementation of a new plan, it would not be expected that those in power, very likely that segment of the population responsible for drawing up and executing the plan, would suffer any disadvantage. Parallel to this is the degree of ideological support from the central government for LP policy implementation (category b). It is argued, albeit a priori, that the central authorities must take a principal role in pushing the plan on to full implementation; they must lead the way not only by legal proclamation but by example as well. Concern for the fiscal constraints and economic viability of the plan (category c) is, of course, a given for any LP policy implementation, but this feasibility factor goes well beyond the central government's ability to finance the plan. Does the plan call for training students in the language they will be expected to

use in the work force? And is it appropriate for the economic and political realities of the community? The final category pertains principally to developing non-Western countries. It is the potential conflict between national development and traditional values (category d). Many parts of the world are undergoing huge social and economic transformations, especially those with colonial legacies. Where once language or ethnic boundaries delineated social communities from one another, now one sees centralization of power and the growth of the bureaucracy in the new nation-state. Urbanization and industrialization are worldwide trends in developing countries, and mass education programs designed to bring literacy to women as well as men are no longer confined to countries with developed economies. Much of this national development falls under the nebulous and sometimes infelicitous rubric of "modernization" -- nebulous, of course, because there is no universally accepted set of criteria which define the term, and infelicitous, because it is often equated with Westernization and the importation of ideas and technologies from the U.S., Europe, and other industrialized nations. Nonetheless, the questions raised by this fourth category focus on national development and some type of modernization. If we assume, first, that all planning is a form of modernization in that its objectives are to address problems present in the contemporary world, and second, that the source of much of this modernization is technology from the developed countries, then we must be aware of unintended or unexpected foreign cultural and political intrusion into the planning milieu. In many countries, the core questions become: 1) to what extent does national development equate with modernization and the importation of foreign ideas, technologies, and languages; and 2) what possible deleterious effects arise from such an equation? In a related vein, one might broach the issue of national development and the process of decolonization. Much of the

world, notably in Africa and Asia, is involved in the task of erecting autonomous political, economic, and cultural institutions to replace their colonial (and thereby largely Western) counterparts. Language, being as much a carrier of culture as a medium of communication, is subject to this same process of modernization. Does LP in the sense that it facilitates the importation of nonindigenous culture and ideas run counter to the notion of decolonization? Clearly, this last sub-component raises some of the most intellectually challenging and difficult questions to answer.

This evaluative procedure was devised primarily to assess LP policy implementation in Morocco since independence in 1956, and it proved useful in accounting for many of that nation's difficulties to arabize education and the bureaucracy. The procedure revealed the following about Moroccan LP efforts to replace French with Arabic: the demographic, psychological, and sociocultural components tended to favor Arabic over French as the country's sole official language of education, government, and commerce; the pedagogical and politico-economic components mainly favored French to sustain its importance (and in some domains of usage its functional superiority over Arabic) in the speech community; inconsistency of educational planning goals (category d of the pedagogical component) was viewed as the biggest snag to maximum Arabization of education; the political and economic power structure of the country (category a of the politico-economic component) will likely continue to receive a largely gallicized education; as a result, competence in French will continue to be associated with upward social and economic mobility, particularly in the major metropolitan centers and in the central bureaucracy. The procedure also offered a glimpse of Morocco's LP future. The analysis pro-

duced by the five components indicated that progress in educational Arabization will continue. If future generations of Moroccans can be guaranteed that an arabized school curriculum, one going from primary school through the university, will assure them the same social and economic advantages offered today by gallicized instruction, then the linguistic makeup of the country's power elite will change, and French will begin a precipitous decline. This could happen within two or three generations. It seems unlikely, however, that French will vanish from the cultural, economic, and political landscape of contemporary Morocco.

This model of LP evaluation proved valuable in locating and elucidating most of the difficulties experienced by engineers of Arabization in Morocco during the last three decades, and it provided some good insights into the future of LP in that country. I plan to use this schema to analyze Arabization efforts in Algeria and Tunisia, two LP milieux whose colonial experiences and desires to replace French with Arabic somewhat resemble Morocco's. Comparative studies of these countries might uncover additional sociolinguistic factors crucial to LP success and could lead to a more comprehensive model of LP evaluation, one with utility in a number of other planning locales. Moreover, an expanded model of LP evaluation could help transform the existing body of planning theory into a more exact -- and less anecdotal -- area of linguistic inquiry.

THE PROCEDURAL OUTLINE FOR LP EVALUATION
An Overview

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPONENT:

a) nature and degree of linguistic diversity within the speech community
b) extent of language competence
c) dynamics of the population

PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPONENT:

a) language attitudes and loyalties
b) cultural attitudes and loyalties
c) motivational attitudes

SOCIOCULTURAL COMPONENT:

a) value of language as an ethnocultural symbol
b) nature of societal cohesion in the community
c) desire for linguistic or cultural maintenance or assimilation

PEDAGOGICAL COMPONENT:

a) functional adequacy of the code as the medium of instruction
b) functional adequacy of staffing and support materials
c) degree of students' and teachers' competence in the medium of instruction
d) consistency of educational planning goals

POLITICO-ECONOMIC COMPONENT:

a) makeup of the political and economic power structure
b) ideological commitment of the central government to implementing the plan
c) fiscal constraints and economic viability of the plan
d) conflict between national development and traditional values

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